113, 101, 184, 565, 463 Tuareg MS25

[For information on the Tuareg see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 204-210.]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*, which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripolitania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan* because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *ettebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.

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May, 1959

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*492

Fig. 60. Riding saddle of *tekokeyt* type (*térik*). Bought in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.70 m high, 0.50 m long, 0.35 m broad. (N.M. G. 1.124).

Hamma obtain their riding saddles from Ayr. All three sub-types of the *térik*-saddle are constructionally identical, being made from pieces of wood lashed together with raw hide and then covered with coloured leather. The structure of this *térik*-saddle is described and depicted in literature (cf. notably Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176 & Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 48, p. 179).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 62. Riding saddle of *berisekes* type (*térik*). This saddle was brought to the Musée de l'homme by Duveyrier. From Tasilé-n-Ajjer, probably manufactured in Ayr.

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mainly by blacksmiths of Aḍraɤ-n-Foɤas, which region is considered its original homeland, but it is also made at Agadez in Ayr where the wooden skeleton is often covered with hairy ox hide. The wooden structure of this saddle type is described in literature (Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176).

In Ayr and further south in Damergu I have often seen a very simple riding saddle which has never been mentioned in literature. It is known as *kantarki* or *delobi* (Figs. 64–65), and it is very interesting

[Text continues on p. 84]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *aregen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehḍaḍ*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Iregenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

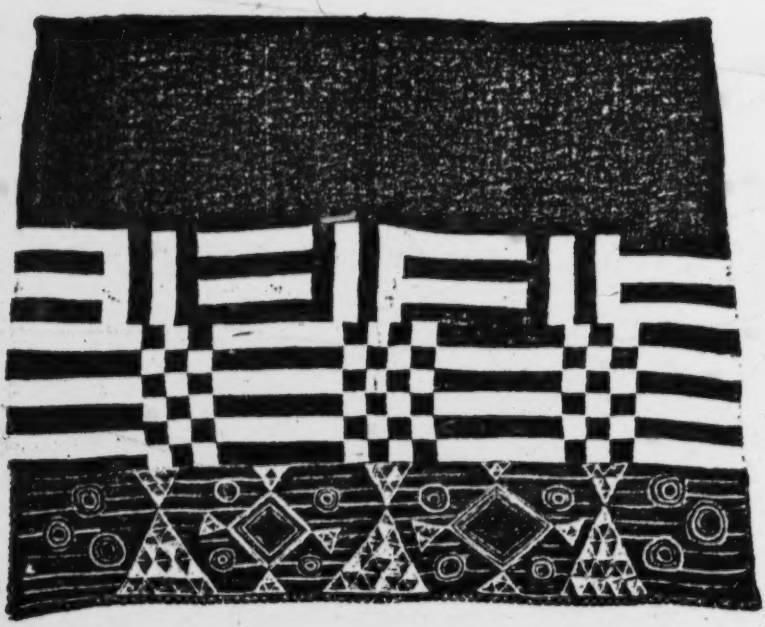

Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*amesliḳ*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*492

Fig. 88. Riding saddle of the type manufactured at Agadez and used by horse-riding Tuareg and Negroes in Ayr and further south. Note the very narrow stirrups which are often used for the insertion of only one or two toes. (Musée de l'homme, Collection Henri Lhote, 38/617).

231 [563] there are perhaps less than ten horses which are all owned by sedentary people (blacksmiths and Arabs). Conditions for horse-breeding are better in Ayr, but even there pastoral Tuareg do not generally breed horses which for a large part of the year must be fed on barley, millet, or on milk. In Ayr, [563] horses are mainly bred by sedentary Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group and by the negroid citizens of Agadez who hold horses in very great esteem. There are perhaps 100–200 horses in and around Agadez, where the animals are kept in or at the houses most of the year to be fed on cereals and on hay of annual grasses cut with a sickle (cf. Fig. 143 f). During the period of *akasa* it is common to let the *492 animals graze on annual pasture, and they are then very tightly hobbled. The Ayr peoples use a bit [171] (*araba*) (Fig. 89) similar to the type used by Arabs in the North, but their saddles are not of the general Arab type (cf. Fig. 88). The very broad Arab stirrups also seem to be unknown to the *Kel Ayr* and to the *Kel Geres*, who have many horses. The stirrups used by horse-riding Tuareg are generally very thin and slender, and they are frequently used for the insertion of only one or two toes. [13] The riding-gear used by the *Kel Ayr* (including the *Imeggedezen*) and the *Kel Geres* is described in detail in literature (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 879 ff. & 921 ff.). This is very complete, and was, perhaps, [175] introduced fairly recently, for we know that the Libyans of Antiquity rode without a saddle and governed their horses mainly by means of a stick (Bates 1941, p. 96 f.), and we are informed by Ibn Batutah that in the Middles Ages the people of Ayr rode without saddles (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 442).

231 174 The history of the horse in Africa constitutes a very important problem. It is generally admitted

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

232 killed. This does not agree with Nicolas' statement that selective breeding is unknown among the [1/4] *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* for all types of domestic animals (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 133).

Superfluous bull-camels are generally castrated very late – rarely before they are six or seven years old, and frequently much later. But this is not to say that all bull-camels are used in breeding, as those used for riding and transportation are generally hobled during grazing and copulation is thus effectively prevented. Bull-camels used in breeding are not always used for riding and pack animals, as they may be very savage and dangerous. In the rutting season they are left unhobled among the she-camels.

The Tuareg consider it best to castrate bull-camels late, and say that bull-camels if castrated at a very early age will not develop fully, or become such good riding and pack animals. Bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate are not so difficult to control during the periods when she-camels are on heat. Nevertheless, when bull-camels are castrated they become more docile. But to the Tuareg it is more important that gelded animals easily grow fat and thus acquire the strengh and endurance to enable them to perform the long and arduous expeditions connected with caravan trading and, in the past, also with raiding. In brief, castration of bull-camels is done as follows:— The legs of the animal to be operated are tied tightly with strong cords, and it is kept firmly to the ground by the weight of people sitting upon it. The operator thereupon cuts two slices in the animals scrotum and pulls out the testicles together with the spermatic cords. This must be done with great care because, it is said, the animal may die if one of the spermatic cords breaks. This method of castration by extraction is the only method used for camels, and it may also be applied to other domestic animals such as bulls, rams, he-goats, and in Ahaggar also to donkey stallions. In the north this extraction method is known as *aselbi* while the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr use the word *azam*. The latter people claim that castration by means of cutting and extraction should be performed in spring (*tabsit*) or during the early rains (*akasa*), as the wounds will heal properly at these seasons. The other important castration method used among the Tuareg is that of chrushing the spermatic cords, it is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ăddaz*, and is never used for camels but is frequently applied to he-goats, rams, and [4/2] bulls. Chrushing of the spermatic cords is done by means of stones or pieces of wood – frequently by beating with the heavy wooden pestle of the large millet mortar (cf. Fig. 177). I believe that this method is that most commonly applied to he-goats and rams, and Tuareg of Ayr claim that they can use this method all the year round as it leaves no wounds to be healed. Rams and he-goats may be castrated at any age and even very old animals are castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. It is claimed that it is best to castrate superfluous lambs and kids very early, preferably as soon as they are weaned.

I believe that the examples given above confirm my statement that the Tuareg are mainly rationalists in their stock-breeding methods. To elucidate this in more detail I shall now present my material on Tuareg veterinary knowledge. This material is unfortunately not very precise because the Tuareg distinguish between very many stock-diseases, and the treatments applied can be studied scientifically only by a veterinary surgeon. A description of stock-diseases is available for the northern parts of the [1/3] Sahara ("Notice sur l'Institut Pasteur d'Algérie", I–II, 1934–1949), but there seems to be no particular study of Tuareg stock-diseases, which I know only by their Tuareg names. As I have not studied this [1/4] rather special subject in great detail, I supplement my own material with informations gathered from literature.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and 261
drink the blood (cf. p. 235). In situations of great distress they may also kill their camels in order to obtain the water supply conserved in the animal's stomach.

(3) Treatment by burning. Wounds are cauterized by means of a redhot iron known as *tamak* 232
(Ayr), or *taterkemt* (Ahaggar). Burning with a redhot iron is also practised for camels with swollen feet as already described (p. 121). It is also common to burn a line around wounds or other sites of disease in order that it shall not spread, and burning is even practised for internal diseases, as is the case with the *tozo*-disease of camels (p. 121). Redhot irons are, on the whole, used particularly for camels. Wounds of sheep and goats, e.g., wounds from jackal bites, are cauterized by means of glowing camel dung. Certain stomach diseases, such as types of tympanites, are cured by a bunch of flaming grass swept under the animal's belly. I have seen this practised with donkeys which, like horses, may suffer from a kind of tympanites known in Ahaggar as *tahagd*.

(4) Instruments and bandages. Enema should be mentioned under this heading. It is known in 232
Ahaggar as *sebegiwen*, and is applied to humans and to animals by means of a funnel or by a special 757
apparatus made from a piece of hollow cane connected with a skin-bag. I never had the opportunity 913 C
to see this apparatus, which is depicted by Lhote who also gives some information about the use of enemas with human beings (Lhote 1955a, p. 303, Fig. 36). He mentions that an enema is also given by a mother to her little children by blowing water into the anus with her mouth. I have seen this done to children in Ahaggar, but I do not know whether this method is practised with animals also. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the Tuareg apply wooden splints to their domestic animals with broken 232
legs. I have seen this device only in Ahaggar where wooden splints are known as *tifesasin* (sing. *tafasast*). They are used for sheep and goats (Fig. 92), and, by the sedentary agriculturists, also for 237
cows. The wooden splints applied to goats are sometimes replaced by a leather bandage solidly tied 492
around the broken leg. I mention under this heading that camels bred and born in stony or mountainous countries cannot always stand the long journeys through plain and sandy deserts. Their feet suffer

232

Fig. 93. Tuareg bleeding a camel at the place of the neck vein known as *abayor*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

232

Fig. 94. Tuareg operating a camel's foreleg with a knife. Northern Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé*.

492 from the constant friction against the sand, and it may become necessary to provide the animals with leather shoes, that is pieces of ox-skin sewn around the hoofs. These leather shoes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tissal* (sing. *tasselt*). Their appearance is excellently depicted by Lhote (Lhote 1951 b, photographs p. 224).

232 824 (5) Medical treatment which forms an important part of Tuareg veterinary knowledge. I have mentioned in the description of camel diseases the use of certain plants for the external treatment of scabies. The Tuareg also use various plants for drugs. Seeds of certain annual plants are mixed with milk and given to goats and sheep which suffer from stomach-diseases. Leaves of various plants are also considered laxatives. The Tuareg know many drugs made from wild plants, and they are aware that there are several wild plants that are dangerous to domestic animals. A very dangerous venomous plant is *élel* (*Nerium oleander*) which is extremely common in the higher parts of Ahaggar. It contains a kind of strychnine, and camels which eat *Nerium* leaves will die from this poison. The Tuareg say that camels bred and born in Ahaggar know the plant to be dangerous. These camels do not eat the *Nerium* leaves but others introduced to Ahaggar from the south may do so. To prevent camels from eating *Nerium* leaves the Tuareg put a leaf of the plant into their nostrils, or burn *Nerium* leaves so that the smoke and the scent of the plant enter the animal's nostrils. In this way camels come to loathe it. There are, according to Foucauld, other venomous plants in Ahaggar, e.g. *awrhed* (*Perralderia coronopifolia*), *arenked* (*Leptadenia heterophylla*, and/or *Cocculus pendulus*) which are fatal to goats and sheep (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1524 & IV, p. 1647; Maire 1933, p. 230, 236). The species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*) is very venomous for human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poision their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*iéhereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaïca*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehot* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *eltima* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

133
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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikehren*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Isakkemaren*).

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the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

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(4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

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Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

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The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

172
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Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amejwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

323 The pottery made in
[53] Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have [114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing [113] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information [437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

/2/ viewpoints in a particular book on the subject (Graebner 1911). A later contribution was made by Wilhelm Schmidt who classified all cultures into world-embracing culture complexes based mainly upon social characteristics, therein differing from the culture complexes established by Graebner (cf. Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 75 ff.; Schmidt 1937).

The establishment of world wide culture complexes has been of some value for our knowledge of cultural evolution in Africa. But scholars who have adhered to this particular method of historical reconstruction have committed many fallacies, not only because they recognized no other scientific approach but the study of distributions, but also because they were so convinced about a relationship between all cultures that they did not take the trouble to produce evidence of their theories about historical connections.

The methodological approach concerned with the establishment of culture complexes within the African continent was also founded by Leo Frobenius. In 1904, when Graebner and Ankermann established their culture complexes for Oceania and Afrika, Frobenius claimed that he now dissociated himself from this method which he had himself created. From then on he was concerned almost exclusively with the study of African cultures. He firmly believed that most African cultures had been introduced from outside, and he tried to show how these foreign influences had penetrated into the continent. He did this not only by means of distributional studies, but tried to demonstrate how certain trait-distributions should be explained in the light of archaeological finds in African coastal regions. By this method Frobenius established certain culture complexes to which he added two particular cultures which could not be explained in this way. The cultures that could not be explained in the light of archaeological finds he termed "Urkulturen", and he named them the "Ethiopian Culture" and the "Hamitic Culture". Frobenius has written on African cultural developments in numerous books and articles. His method and his culture complexes are best described in "Atlas Africanus" I–VIII, 1920 ff., and in "Kulturgeschichte Afrikas", 1933. His culture complexes are the following:—

[13]

(1) *The Ethiopian Culture*. A primitive culture ("Urkultur") which constitutes the foundation of many cultures of tropical Africa.

(2) *The Hamitic Culture*. A primitive culture ("Urkultur") mainly represented among pastoralists of North and East Africa.

(3) *The Atlantic Culture*. A high culture which came from the Mediterranean, through the Straits of Gibraltar, along the North-west African coast, and settled around the Guinea Coast where there are numerous ruins and archaeological finds.

(4) *The Syrtic Culture*. A high culture which influenced a large part of North-western Africa. It came from the Mediterranean and reached as far south as Senegal – Niger – Tchad – Benue. The Garamantes played an important part in the spreading of this culture.

(5) *The North Erytrean Culture*. A high culture connected with certain North-east African states, notably Axum and the old Kuchitic states in and around Ethiopia. From these regions the culture spread over the Sudan and adjacent regions. But the traits of this culture complex are not limited to any definite period.

(6) *The South Erytrean Culture*. A high culture which like its northern counterpart came from the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Near East. It was brought across the sea and along the East African coast by a foreign people who settled in the region between Limpopo and Zambezi. It is connected with ancient ruins, notably with those of Zimbabwe. /21

There are many extremely weak points in these culture complexes.

The so-called Ethiopian and Hamitic cultures are nothing more than accidental groupings of cultural traits, and the Atlantic culture seems to be a compilation of traits, which did not come to West Africa from the sea in the way Frobenius thought. When all this has been said, it must be admitted that he started a valuable work. For his *Syrtic Culture* and the two *Erytrean Cultures* were founded upon a realistic methodological principle entirely new to African historical anthropology, namely the combination of distributional studies with archaeology.

Frobenius had many followers, who have contributed much to advance his theories (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 7 f.), but since Frobenius no scholar has been of such importance for the establishment of African culture complexes as has Hermann Baumann. He acknowledges the value of some cultures established by Frobenius, and in an early paper he states that the culture complexes of Africa should be elucidated mainly by studies within the continent. Culture complexes should be intra-continental, and not inter-continental (Baumann 1934). As early as 1927 Baumann outlined some of his culture complexes in a study of the Azande and the Mangbetu (Baumann 1927), and the year after he published an important paper on the division of work in African hoe culture, in which paper he stressed the importance of social organization for the establishment of culture complexes (Baumann 1928). Baumann has published other significant papers on various aspects of African cultures, but his main work is "Völkerkunde von Afrika" (1940), in which book he has outlined his view on the historical development of African cultures. They are divided into the following culture complexes:— [113]

(1) *The Pygmy Culture*. This is limited to the parts of Central Africa, where the Pygmies live. The culture is founded upon hunting and collecting and is very poor in material objects.

(2) *The Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture*. A primitive hunting culture which is represented mainly among the Bushmen though it can be traced over a large part of the African continent in the steppe and savannah regions.

The so-called "Mahalbi" Culture established by Frobenius at the outskirts of the Sahara (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 70 ff.) is incorporated in the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture, which is not limited to any particular ethnic group. It is found among khoisanid and negroid peoples alike, and in part it is represented among ethiopid and even europid tribal groups. However, it is considered likely that this particular culture in its origin was linked with people of the khoisanid race, which seems to have existed over most of the African continent in the remote past. This hunting culture seems to have been of great importance to people of the Sahara which appears from rock engravings representing hunting scenes, and traits of the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture were found among the Ancient Libyans of Northern Africa. The Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture, and also the khoisanid race, seem to be connected prehistorically with the Wilton- and Smithfield Cultures of South Africa, the Elementeita Culture in Kenya, the Capsian Culture of North Africa, and perhaps also with the well-known rock engravings of Eastern Spain. Characteristic of the Eurafrican hunting culture are particular hunting rites and hunting methods (hunting in disguise by means of animal masks, poi-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

by means of a tongue inserted in the wooden handle, but the digging stick is also known. The typical type of dwelling is the cylindrical house with a conical roof. /12/

(6) *The Young Sudanese Culture*. This is largely identical with the *North Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius. Its main area of distribution lies between the Senegal River and the Red Sea around Ethiopia, and its culture elements derive from Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and above all from India. It is attached to state organization characterized by divine kingship, and many traits of highly-developed techniques in crafts are particularly attached to the royal court. It is a most refined culture in comparison with the above mentioned *Old Sudanese Culture*. Its original foundation was perhaps a developed agricultural technique based on artificial irrigation, manuring, and the terracing of fields. Certain agricultural implements are also characteristic of this culture complex, notably the socket-shafted hoe and other implements hafted in this way, the sickle, particular knives for rice-harvesting, and crescent-shaped spades. Megalithic monuments are perhaps also peculiar to this culture.

(7) *The Rhodesian Culture*. This is largely identical with the *South Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius, and has many traits in common with the *Young Sudanese Culture*, notably state organizations characterized by divine kingship. Many other cultural traits are common to the two cultures.

(8) *The Old Mediterranean Culture*. This is largely identical with the *Syrtic Culture* established by Frobenius. It is a high culture, which has been introduced from the Mediterranean into a large part of the Western Sudan between the Senegal River and Lake Tchad. It is less prominent in other parts of the Sudan. It is characterized by the mother-right of the Berbers, and this social trait derives from the old Aegean-Iberian culture of the Mediterranean. Mother-right was introduced into the Western Sudan together with the invasion of fair-skinned Berbers whose racial traits can be traced in numerous chief-families of West Sudanese states. The ancient mother-right of the Berbers even reached the Gold and Ivory Coasts. In the north it disappeared in most places, but was conserved among the isolated Tuareg and the Beja. Many developed cultural traits are considered part of the Old Mediterranean Culture, but as this culture in the Sudan has mixed with the Young Sudanese Culture it is often difficult to determine whether cultural elements of the Western Sudan have been introduced from the east or from the north. An important characteristic of the Old Mediterranean culture is clay or mud architecture, including huts and store rooms of cylindrical form with a conical roof, dome-shaped dwellings, drums made from clay, large earthen jars for storing cereals, painted pottery, refined leather work, stone-carving, the manufacture of beads and glass, etc.

Many scholars other than those mentioned have contributed to our understanding of African cultural development, but none has made so systematic a study as has Baumann. More recently, however, a most important work on the distribution of African cultural traits has been published by Sture Lagercrantz. This deepens our knowledge of African cultures by its distribution maps, founded upon an enormous knowledge of African literature (Lagercrantz 1950). Lagercrantz follows Baumann in the establishment of culture complexes, stating that the results achieved by Baumann are likely on the whole to prove of permanent value (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 8). In what follows I attempt to elucidate certain aspects of Tuareg culture in the light of Baumann's African culture complexes. [13]

There can be no doubt that in the past an *Old Mediterranean Culture*, or a *Syrtic Culture*, has greatly influenced North Africa with related regions. I think that the influence from such a high culture in /14/

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

113

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113

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105 Marabout is available, he reads the Moslem prayers. There is no wailing nor any public display of sentiment. The camp is immediately broken and the place is not used again. Condolences often include the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you love is now in the paradise of God."

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